

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIV. No. 21.] LONDON, SATURDAY, NOV. 20, 1813. [Price 1s.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PRICE OF BREAD.—Mr. Campbell, who is an advocate for the *assize*, and who blames me for wishing to see it abolished, and to see the baking trade left at as much liberty as any other branch of business, has sent me another letter upon this subject, which I insert below. — His main drift is to produce a belief, that, by leaving the trade of bread to itself, the poor are made to suffer; and, in proof of this, he cites the increasing number of paupers, and also the enormous increase in the amount of the poor-rates. — But, if the *assize* of bread, if the shackling of the flour-trade; if these had a tendency to prevent the sufferings of the poor, why have the poor suffered? for these shackles have long been in existence. *Experience* would rather lead us, then, to the opposite conclusion. — Mr. Campbell does not think, that wages keep pace with the price of provisions: and, in particular cases; in certain trades, at certain times, and especially where trade is affected materially by external commerce; in such cases, the price of wages may not keep pace with the price of bread. If, for instance, the cotton trade were stopped, all of a sudden, and the price of bread were not to change; it is very certain, that the price of the cotton-spinners' wages would not keep pace with the price of bread. The same, in different degrees, will happen, at times, as to other trades; but, then, Mr. Campbell should bear in mind, that, at other times, owing to a great demand in such particular branches of trade, the price of labour will overshoot the pace which it ought to keep with the price of bread. — When I said, that the price of agricultural labour kept pace with the price of wheat, I did not mean, that it kept the pace as regularly as two Hessian soldiers marching on parade. I did not mean, that it changed from high to low and from low to high at the *same moment*, that the change took place in the price of provisions. I meant, of course, that, on an average of three or four years, you would always find the price of labour pretty truly proportioned to the price of

bread. Sometimes the labourer has the advantage, and sometimes the employer. — The former has the advantage at this moment. The wages of last year (ending at Michaelmas) will be given this year; but, the cost of living will not be so great by a *fourth*, and, in all probability, by nearly a *third*. — The price of bread depends so much on the *season*; it depends so very much upon merely accidental circumstances; and it rises and falls so suddenly, that it is impossible that the price of labour should *constantly* keep pace with it; but, I am persuaded, that, as to agricultural labour, which goes to the producing of that for which there is always a demand, it will be found, upon an average of years, to keep a very true pace with the price of bread. — Mr. Campbell seems to hope, that, upon further reflection, I shall come over to his opinion; but, so far does reflection lead me the other way, that I greatly doubt of a reduction, and especially a great and sudden reduction, in the price of provision, being any benefit at all to the public or the labourer. It would be desirable to see men disposed, at all times, to labour assiduously without being urged to it by *absolute necessity*. It is melancholy for the country, in which this disposition does not exist. But, where, *from whatever cause*, the labourer has no idea of *saving* any thing; where his views go not beyond the supplying of his absolute wants, all that will be produced by a great fall in the price of provisions, is, a *diminution in the quantity of his labour*. During this year, for instance, being able to purchase as much bread for a shilling as he was, last year, for eighteen pence, he will do only two-thirds as much labour as he did last year, except in cases where the price of labour can be made instantly to fall into the pace of the price of bread. — When, therefore, some persons are pouring forth such loads of thanksgiving for an abundance of corn, they do not appear to have well reflected on all the consequences to which that abundance may lead; nay, to which it must lead. — The labourer feels an indisposition to labour at the same time

that the master has less means of employing him; and thus the low price of bread operates in two ways at once to produce a scanty crop in a succeeding year.—I shall suppose, for a moment, that there will be as much land sown with corn this year as there would have been if the price had continued high. But, even in this case, the produce will be less than it would have been if the price had not come down so low. Less care will be taken in the after cultivation; in the draining; in the fencing; in the harvesting; and these are of very great account in the amount of the produce.—The truth is, however, that a great deal less corn will be sown, especially in the Spring. Much of the land, which, if corn had been at a pretty good price, would have been prepared for sowing in March, April, and May, will not now be prepared. Fields will be left almost untouched, to bear a crop of weeds, which, under the motive of last-year's prices, would have been made clean for a crop of corn. Less cattle will be employed in cultivation; less manure will be brought upon the land. In short, less *capital* will be used for the producing of corn, seeing that capital, used in that way, does not, this year, produce so large a profit.—The consequence must be a smaller produce; which, joined to what is always possible, an untoward season, may bring a scarcity more than sufficient to counterbalance the present plenty.—Mr. Campbell says, that the *fluctuation* in the price of bread has been the great cause of the miseries of the poor. But, who is to prevent this fluctuation? The price depends upon the crop, and the crop depends upon the winds, and sun, and clouds. An easterly wind, at a certain season, may, in six hours, cause the price to rise from 20 to 30 pounds the load of wheat.—What has happened to prices within these 10 weeks, is, I should think, more than sufficient to convince any reasonable man, that it is the crop, compared with the demand, and that *alone*, which has, or can have, an effect upon the price of corn.—Right notions, in this respect, are of great importance. The Americans, who do not know what pauperism and misery is, are astonished to hear, that we *rejoice when corn is cheap*. They see the thing in its true light. They are not deprived of their reason by the gnawings of hunger. People in that country are as well off when corn is dear as when it is cheap. It is only a *rabble* that shouts at low prices of provisions. The labourer in

America knows little more of the price of flour than a gentleman in England does. It is hunger, and hunger alone, that unhinges people's minds upon this subject. If an assize of the price of *shoes* were to be established, the very rabble would be wonder-stricken. And yet, why not? Shoes are necessities of life, and why should the people be left, in this respect, at the mercy of the manufacturer any more than in the case of bread? Why not an assize of the price of potatoes? Bread, they say, in the emphatical language of *Holy Writ*, is the "*Staff of life*." Very true; but, all human food, in *different degrees*, contribute towards the sustaining of life. Why not an assize of the price of all of them?—I wish very much to see this assize quite abolished; and this is the time for it, when the stomach is pretty well filled, and when it leaves reason at liberty to operate.—I have often thought, and cannot help thinking so now, that Government are pleased with this ignorance in the people; that the former delight in seeing the latter fasten on upon any thing but themselves. The *bakers*, the *mealmen*, the *millers*; no matter whom, or what, so that their hatred has a direction not towards the Government. If one millionth part of the pains had been taken to instruct the people, that have been taken to mislead them, we should not, at this day, hear talk of the price of bread being kept up by *combinations* of bakers and mealmen.

RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION.—A correspondent, whose letter will be found below, while he praises me for my sound orthodox principles, blames me for inserting the letters of those who differ from me in opinion, and observes, that "it is an *ignoble loss of time* to endeavour to prove any thing to "one, who is resolved to *believe nothing but what he sees*."—In recommending this letter, which is signed A. B. to the sober perusal of my readers, I must, however, say, that, in this respect I differ from him. Jesus Christ and his Apostles endeavoured to convert the long-bearded rascals, who, at last, actually killed God. And, shall I think it beneath *me* to endeavour to convert such men as Observator and Mr. Fordham? To effect this work, I am of opinion, that the best way is to *hear* them first; to let my readers hear them; and then, as I endeavour to do, to show the *hollowness* of what they say; for, if they be beaten thus by dint of argument, the thing is far more complete than if they were si-

the price of
and does. It
that unhinges
it. If an as-
to be esta-
be wonder-
Shoes are
ould the peo-
the mercy of
n in the case
of the price
in the em-
rit, is the
but, all hu-
, contribute
Why not
hem?—I
quite abo-
or it, when
, and when
erate. —I
help think-
are pleased
e; that the
er fasten on
ves. The
; no mat-
hatred has
overnment,
s had been
have been
ld not, at
of bread
of bakers

A corres-
nd below,
orthodox
g the let-
opinion,
le loss of
thing to
nothing
mending
B. to the
st, how-
ffer from
es endea-
rascals,
And,
avour to
and Mr.
I am of
r them
n; and
the hol-
they be
e thing
were si-

lenced by blows or by any other forcible means.—I am much flattered to perceive, that my correspondent, A. B. approves of the way in which I answered the *whys* and *wherefores* of Mr. Fordham and Ecce Homo. They asked, *why* God should die; *why* he should choose to pass through the process of impregnation, delivery, swaddling clouts, circumcision, temptation by the Devil, buffeting, and, finally, hanging by those miscreants, the Jews; *why* he could not have saved men without all this.—To this cavil I answered by putting to them the question: "*Why* a chicken came out of an egg, instead of being littered as young dogs are."—This it was which so much pleased my correspondent. Indeed it was a *clencher*; and, as A. B. observes, "*completely* silenced these poor, foolish, impertinent sort of inquirers."—But, if A. B. is just in this compliment to me, is it not clear, that *discussion* has done some good? If I had not admitted the letters of my opponents, I could not have answered them; and A. B. may be assured, that questions, similar to those of Mr. Fordham and Observer, are frequently put in conversation. Now, then, the answer is ready; and it has been furnished to the public at large through the means of *discussion*.—If the old maxim be true, that *Truth*, the more she is rubbed the brighter she will appear, *discussion* must always be in favour of those, who have *Truth on their side*; and, as we churchmen have truth on our side, *discussion* must be in *our* favour.—Besides, what would the world think if I avoided the discussion? They would infer from it, that I, at least, doubted of the goodness of the cause.—"The Boileyan parson," as he is emphatically called, in the country, did very great mischief in *not* discussing the subject with Mr. EATON. He attacked Mr. EATON; and, indeed, he promised to give an answer to his publication; but he has never attempted so to do from that day to this. What is the inference which the world must naturally draw from this fact? Why, that the Reverend Gentleman is either unable, or unwilling, to answer the book; that he is deficient in point of ability, or in point of zeal; or, which would be still more mischievous, *that the work is unanswerable*.—That Reverend personage has, therefore, done much harm to the cause of religion by his attack, his challenge, and his subsequent silence. Now, I am for *discussion*; because I know, that if *discussion* has its free course, *Truth* must, at last, prevail; and,

I hope, that no man is to be found base and impudent enough to say, that *Truth ought not to prevail*.—Mr. Fordham does not, it seems, mean to let us hear from him again; but, I think proper again to call him forth in support of his assertion, that there is *no Devil*. I call upon him to show, what becomes of *religion* if there be no Devil. Is it not to preserve us from the Devil, that we are religious? Why need we any such thing as religion, if there were no Devil? We are baptized, confirmed, we take the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and why? Because these are so many means of keeping us out of the Devil's claws. Burns, the poet, has an Address to the Devil, in which the qualities of the latter are very well drawn. Amongst other things that the Devil infuses into the heads of men is, *that there is no Devil*; and, I am afraid that the crafty being must have been but too busy at the ear of Mr. Fordham himself.—The Devil is a personage of great import in the Christian system. Indeed the system is founded upon the idea of such a being, the constant enemy of man, working day and night for his destruction. If it be asked, *why* God did not kill the Devil long ago, or, at least, keep him in hell amongst his own infernal crew, and so prevent him from tormenting and tempting weak mortals; if this be asked, I ask Mr. Fordham in return, *why* God suffers poor mortals to have the gout or the tooth-ach?—Mr. Fordham may jeer me as long as he pleases; but, he will not prevail on me to give up the Devil, who, as I said before, is the very sheet-anchor of the Christian system.—Ask those pious old Ladies, whose grey locks, if they did not modestly hide them, would bespeak their age and experience, *why* they go to prayers so regularly on Wednesdays and Fridays, and *why* they receive the Sacrament once a month at least. Ask them *why*, and they will tell you, that their religious duty enjoins it on them thus to act. Very true; but, put the matter still closer to them. Say: *Why* do you pay any attention to such things. They will answer, that they do it because they hope thereby to be saved from the Devil.—This is the grand motive of all who attend either the Church or the Meeting-house; and, of course, if Mr. Fordham could root out the Devil, there would be no motive at all for going to any religious house, or for reading in any religious book.—The Devil is the very kernel of the creed. Without him, all is nonsense. There is neither reason, nor com-

mon sense in the Christian scheme; but, with a Devil, as described to us in the Holy Scriptures, all is reasonable, clear, and consistent.—I call upon Mr. Fordham to shew the contrary.

WM. COBBETT.

PRICE OF BREAD.

Sir,—In your number of the 16th inst., you have stated, that “the table which I inserted is curious; more so, you believe, than correct.—A wide difference is made by taking the highest price on the one side and the lowest price on the other; and though I know paupers have increased to a most horrible degree, it is not altogether owing to the wages of labour not having kept pace with the price of bread.” Most certainly not, Sir, for that want of employment which is more or less the subject of complaint at all times, and which was loudly complained of when I formed the table, operates, indeed, very powerfully to create paupers; but as I could not find data on which to calculate the number so created, *the fact must be, that my table exhibits a much less number of paupers than might have been stated as incontrovertible evidence of the evils, not, indeed, of the fair freedom of trade, but of the anarchial degree to which that freedom is carried, in every case, that of the bakers excepted. And to which, as they, the evils mentioned, take precedence of all other subjects that can claim your consideration, I make bold to call your most serious attention before you again express your disapprobation of the assize on bread, or displeasure of the hardships under which the bakers labour. Recollect, Sir, that it is not yet, as you appear to assume, a decided point, that, with all their hardships, there are more bakers in the workhouse, in proportion to their number, than there is of any other class, with all the freedom of which they have to boast. You are aware that the price of bread, so long as money continues to be the standard of its value, is not only the link which connects independence with existence, but the main spring of existence itself,—by the due regulation of which we are permitted to live, move, and have our being in this world. And this being infallibly the case, you will, of course, allow that there is no other subject, however general in its bearing, which ought not to give way to the free and fair discussion of the horrid policy (tracing the picture which my table exhibits, to its*

operations) of leaving that spring to the discretion of those whose interest it is to make great profits on the sale of their commodities, and of course, to occasion great loss to the helpless many who purchase them; and who may fall, nay, have fallen into the habit of so doing, as void of combination, as they are of any agreement to wear round hats for their heads rather than cocked ones. But to return, the table, you will recollect, only exhibits the number of paupers which has been exclusively created by the most proximate and obvious cause, namely, the progressively rising, though fluctuating, price of provisions; or, as you have still left me to think, “by the wages of labour not having kept pace with the depreciated value of money.” And the truth of which thought I will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, establish to your perfect satisfaction, if you do not shut the columns of the Political Register against my endeavours. But “the table” you assert, “is more curious than correct.”—“A wide difference is made by taking the highest price on the one side and the lowest price on the other.” Granted, Sir, for the sake of argument; but I have not done so. Had I wished to shuffle in that way I might have taken sixpence as the price of the quarter of wheat, which is that given me in Fleetwood’s *Chronicon Preciosum* in the year 1043. Instead of doing this I took my lowest price as given by Dr. Adam Smith for 1687, and by so doing, and taking the other prices as I found them recorded in the Town-Clerk of London’s office, at the commencement of each Mayoralty, my object, as you freely insinuated, was not to make out a case right or wrong, but to shew, in a compass the most compact, and on principles which I apprehend the least errable, the absurd delusions and fatal effects; not, indeed, of the eternal sleep into which it laid “the divine right of kings,” but of that nevertheless party bubble, the Revolution of 1688.—The authors of which, grasping at the abstract blessings of freedom, must have forgot, if my table be correct, the inequality of our power to secure them, and, therefore, that a restraint upon superior powers, which leaves the necessities of life within the reach of all those who, though not gifted with equal abilities, are nevertheless able to provide for their own wants, is the solid basis of social liberty; the very end of the associated state; and the very essence of moral justice, in the management of public affairs. And so

forgetting, they could not but remember to lay a more firm foundation for the calamities which the table exhibits, than ever before cursed the civilized state of man. To this motive, Sir, for taking the state of prices as I have given it, I have, in candour, to add the desire of exposing in the same way and on the same principles, the consequent of that revolution, frauds and calamities of the too successful attempt which we made twenty years ago, to murder the rational freedom of mankind in the infant cradle of the French revolution. These, and no other, were my objects in taking the state of prices as I have done. And take you what proof you please of the blessings of the degree of freedom which I oppose, and would have opposed at the Revolution, had I then had existence. I cannot but consider the picture which my table exhibits, as the most incontrovertible evidence of its course;—not only to ourselves, but to the whole known world. Yet, Sir, though I stand thus acquitted of the charge of taking the highest prices on the one side and the lowest prices on the other, I can, with an abhorrence of sophistry and falsehood, which is not inferior to that of any man, defend the principle of taking them so. In doing this I have to remark, that no one is more likely than yourself to be aware of the melancholy truth, that in the very lowest state of prices there are persons whose allowance of necessaries is so short, *that the smallest possible advance in price deprives them of the means of subsistence.* This is a truth, Sir, which can never be absent from your mind, while you recollect “that it is the last feather that breaks the horse’s back;” and, therefore, it is another truth which must always be present to your conviction, that in the absence of such means, such persons have no alternative but to dispose of every thing they possess, and march into the work-house, *that last asylum of oppressions, victims, and certain grave of national morals, national character, and individual independence.* It cannot be otherwise, Sir, for you are aware that it does not belong to reduced prices to enable such reduced victims of high charges, to repurchase the property with which they were obliged to part, and become again free members of society. If this then be a fair representation of the effects of any advance of prices, into what greater absurdity could the corn-trade committee have fallen, than that into which they have plunged, namely, *the averaging the price of corn for the last*

twenty years as the means of regulating its price for the time to come, or rather, till the depreciation of money renders another parliamentary interference necessary? If we had not had ocular demonstration of it, could it be believed that, evident as the calamities of fluctuating prices are, a committee of the House of Commons would have overlooked them, and propose no means of arresting their progress? And if, in addition to this representation of such calamities, it be the matter of fact, *that applications for parochial relief are always in the ratio of the advanced price of necessaries; of bread in particular, and that it is so, your own experience must convince you, if you ever served the office of overseer of the poor, where would have been my error had I even taken the highest price on the one side, and the lowest price on the other, as the means of evincing the barbarity of the freedom of trade which we now enjoy?*—Such error, if I understand my subject, can only be conceived on the supposition, that the increase of paupers is less than in the ratio of advanced prices!—than which, admitting the premises, a falser notion never entered into the mind of man. So much, Sir, for the correctness of my table, as to the state of prices on which it is founded, and as to its accuracy as a mere calculation, the easiest way in which I can enable you to detect its errors, is to put you in possession of its mode. I know that the generality of readers are averse to calculations, and pass them over with inattention, flippantly remarking, that they are *dry*; but this flowing, prating way, is too unworthy of those who are, like you, desirous of being esteemed for their knowledge and love of truth, to allow me for a moment to fear I shall experience it from you, to whom calculations on a subject *so moistened with the tears of misery*, as that to which I now call your attention, never can be dry. And to which, again, on public grounds alone, I trust you will most seriously attend before you will again venture to prejudice the mind of your readers, by offering remarks on my endeavours to assist you in the great work of arresting the progress of paupers, which may otherwise turn out to be incorrect. My way, Sir, of accounting for, and shewing at one view, as far as the means are within my reach, the sum total of the wretchedness which bears us down in the midst of appearances to the contrary, may possess novelty; may be different from the old crude and undigested track, sel-

lowed by all the political economists I ever read; but it does not, therefore, follow, that my aim is to make out a case at the expense of truth and justice. But to return. Repeating the substance of a former remark, you will recollect, that the price of bread is not a subject of ordinary interest; that it is a subject of a much more interesting nature than even that of the church; for the defence of which you appear ready to lay down your life, should the attacks of the Unitarians upon its vitals render so great a sacrifice necessary. The church, you well know, Sir, only reaches the heads and conduct of men, but the price of bread comes not only home to their business and bosoms, but to their very being; or, in the vulgar tongue, which we are bound to learn, to their very bellies. It is ordained by nature, Sir, that this part of our frame should form the first object of our care; and, therefore, it is but truth to infer, that if we be pinched by its wants, we cannot be otherwise than cramped in all our undertakings;—a circumstance to which I trust the Lord Mayor of London, and particularly the First Lord of the Treasury, to whom a full one must be agreeable, will never be inattentive. With respect to the correctness of the table as a mere calculation, you will recollect, that the act of parliament which ascertained the amount of our population in 1803, gave the poor's rates of England and Wales at £1,523,163 in 1776; and at £1,943,649 in 1785, without giving the number of paupers which that rate went to maintain. In 1803 the rate is given at £4,113,164, and the paupers at 1,039,716 in number. In that year, and at the commencement of the mayoralty, the price of bread was 10d. the quarter loaf; in 1785, 6d.; and in 1776, 6½d. Say then, first, if in 1803, the price of bread being 10d., a rate of £4,113,164, maintained 1,039,716 paupers, what is the number that a rate of £1,943,649 would maintain in 1785, when the price of bread was 6d.? Answer, 818,851. And that being the answer, it clearly follows, that in 1776, when bread was 6½d., a rate of £1,523,163 would maintain 695,177 paupers. Secondly, if in 1776, when bread was 6½d., a rate of £1,523,163 maintained 695,177 paupers, what is the number that £665,562. the rate at the Revolution, when bread was 3d., would maintain? Answer, 563,964. The rate at this period is given by Sir F. M. Eden, in his *Treatise on the State of the Poor*; and from which, together with my

own recollection, I have collected all the knowledge I possess of the wages of husbandry labour at the different periods to which I refer. We have now a double task to perform, for as neither is given us, we have to find both the rates and the paupers up to the period to which I have carried the table. Say then, first, if 6d., the price of bread, in 1785, gave 818,851 paupers, what is the number, that 7d. its price in 1792, would give? Answer, 955,326, allowing, as assumed, an increase of paupers necessarily to follow the advanced price of bread. And as that is the answer, it clearly follows, that as in 1785 a rate of £1,943,649 went to maintain 818,851 paupers, so in 1792, when the war commenced, bread being 7d., a rate of £2,645,520 was indispensably necessary to maintain 955,326 paupers. Secondly, as 7d. the price of bread in 1792, gave 955,326 paupers, it follows, that 10d. its price in 1803, would give the 1,039,716 paupers before stated; and as in the same year (1792) bread being 7d., a rate of £2,645,520 went to maintain 955,326 paupers; it follows, that, in 1803, bread being 10d., the rate of £4,113,164, given by the act of parliament, was the exact sum required to maintain the 1,039,716 paupers, which is given by that act; and which shews the correctness of the principle on which the calculation is made from first to last. Thirdly, if 10d. the price of bread, in 1803, gave the paupers of that year as above stated; it follows, that 12d. its price in 1811, gave 1,247,659 paupers; and as in the same year (1803), the rate stated went to maintain the paupers mentioned, it follows, that in 1811, bread being 12d., the rate required to maintain 1,247,659 paupers, could not be less than £5,922,954. And, fourthly, as 12d. the price of bread in 1811, gave 1,247,659 paupers; it follows, that 20d., its highest price in 1812, gave 2,079,716 paupers; exclusively, as before stated, of those that were created by the want of employment. And as in 1811, bread being 12d., a rate of £5,922,954 was required to maintain 1,247,659 paupers; it evidently follows, that the rate required in 1812, bread being 20d., to maintain the paupers of that year, could not be less, but must be more than the £16,456,646; which my table exhibits in the ratio of the expenses of those who become burdensome to their respective parishes for want of employments. This is the ground, Sir, on which I maintain, that

my table exhibits the truth, but not the whole truth, as to the amount of our paupers. I do allow, as you see, that the awful growth of those victims, of the inequality of their own powers to enjoy the blessings of freedom, do proceed from different causes. I do allow, that it proceeds from two main causes, into which all others, as it appears to me, resolve themselves; namely, 1st, the progressively advancing price of provisions, or as I am ready to prove, the falling value of money, which my table exhibits; and, 2dly, the want of employment, which I have repeatedly mentioned. And it does not lie with me to do otherwise than trace both of these causes to the undefined freedom of trade which we enjoy, and which cannot be otherwise than rendered cruel by the inequality of our powers to secure the advantages which it offers in the abstract. In doing this I cannot see my error. For had the victims of this licentiousness, miscalled freedom, *as much power as they have liberty*, to employ themselves; to raise the price of their labour, or rather the value of the money in which they are paid, as those who make that money, have to depreciate its value by increasing its quality; to furnish employment for themselves; and put a value upon their commodities; I cannot see the reason why the one should be crowding into the workhouse while the other is enjoying all the luxuries, comforts, and ease which this life can afford. Can you, Sir? If you can do yourself the credit; do your country the kindness; and do humanity the justice to point it out, in clear and intelligible terms, that contrary opinions may so far cease to be the authors of perpetual misery. And if you cannot, can you do otherwise than fall in with me in the conviction, that the equal freedom of our trade, in the absence of equal power to secure its abstract advantages, *is the very root of all our evils?* This is a fair question, Sir; and if you cannot answer it in the affirmative, will you not admit, that in the absence of all other remedies for the calamities of a short allowance of necessaries, it is of two evils the least, *to put a maximum on the price of every thing, than remove it from the price of bread?* I have already occupied too much of your valuable time to point out what appears to me to be the error of the mode of reasoning which you have adopted in putting the negative on this question; and, therefore, I shall only add, that, for me, or against me, on this or any other subject, as your sense of duty

may direct, I shall always admire the noble qualities of your mind in the field of argument; and never cease to pride myself on being your very humble and respectful fellow labourer in the vineyard.

HECTOR CAMPBELL.

Surrey-Street, Strand,

5th Nov. 1813.

Ecce Homo.

London, Oct. 27th, 1813.

SIR,—Being convinced, from the whole tenor of your sentiments upon matters of religion, that you are an honest and sincere Christian, I feel no small sorrow that you should favour, or give any field for discussion, through the medium of your respectable Journal, to such correspondents as those who have lately so pragmatically pretended to combat your solid, just, and virtuous arguments upon the subjects of holy writ and the sacred truths of Christianity. It is, I think, Sir, an ignoble loss of time to endeavour to prove any thing to one who is obstinately determined, either from perversity, or the pride of singularity, to disbelieve every thing he does not see. Such a one is blind to his own absurdity and dead to his own folly; forgetting that simply to believe is not seeing; for what is seen is no longer the object of simple belief. A fool may at any time deny more than a philosopher can prove; but the truth of a proposition is in nowise invalidated by that. Persons in such dispositions as those above spoken of are both unworthy of the children's bread, and of the choice pearls of the word of God too. They, as well as you, read the sacred oracles of truth; but their hearts are not right; and heaven grant they may not wrest them to their own final unhappiness! May they not be brought to believe in them too late!—May they not call upon their Redeemer when he will not hear them!—May they not, as they were the first to disown him, be disowned in their turn by him, and be left to die in their errors!—Is there any honest or honourable lover of Christ who is not deeply affected at the deplorable pitch of depraved wretchedness to which these gospel revilers have worked up their minds; who, by their pestiferous writings and other methods, have caused half the Christian world to be drenched in blood.—In a word, you know, Sir, the French nation was the first who *openly* dared, under the specious coverings of REASON and LIBERTY, to vilify the Gospel, and bring its

Divine Author into contempt. And—O gracious heaven! what has been, and what is still, the horrible result!—O, into what a pandemonium has not that country been turned by its infernal philosophers Voltaire, Rousseau, Mirabeau, Marat, &c. &c. and what horrors have not fallen upon the devoted heads of their multiplied anti-christian followers!—However, when such as these draw the profane parallel between the Saviour of the world and virtuous personages of antiquity, attributing as much, wilfully blind as they are, to the wretched creature as to the Creator, it is a charity still due to them, to remind these self-sufficient beings, that no one ever existed amongst either Jews or Gentiles, who ever uttered a worthy sentiment, without the aid of the Being who created them; and who, by a faithful correspondence to the light they received, were to be redeemed by him. So that all this is entirely irrelevant. With respect to the omnipotence and divinity of Christ, I say, over and over again, Sir, woe be to all your anti-christian correspondents, such as *Ecce Homo*, *Observer*, and all such underminers of the happiness and enemies to the human race; for there is no other name given amongst men whereby we are to be saved. Either Christ, or *invincible ignorance* of him, and even this last, will be of no avail, if it be not supplied with INVINCIBLE NATURAL VIRTUE. No morality, however, will do amongst Christians without Christ; to say nothing at the present day of Jews, Pagans, or Mahometans; for however mysterious it may be, we know that He, who is all powerful, can have no motive but to be all just; and we know that God is both these. We know that he loves us all equally; and that no human being ever existed to whom he did not give them the means of eternal happiness, if it were not their own fault, by the perversity of their free will, to reject it.—But to return to and conclude my letter; Christ, in the appointed time, came in person to confirm all that his just ones had with fidelity corresponded to, through the inspirations of anterior grace, in virtue of his merits to come. Amongst these may be ranked holy Job, and all others who lived in the fear and love of God, and who were without the pale of the tabernacle.—The Magi, as well as Abraham, saw the day of redemption in Spirit; and adored, in holy expectation of the fulfilment of those promises, which by an amiable docility on their parts, had been infused into them by the same

divine Spirit, in virtue, as was before observed, of that great ransom which was to be paid for the whole human race; and to be applied to all who had not wilfully excluded themselves from it, either from criminal ignorance or of a contempt of those just dictates with which their consciences were impressed by natural religion. The moment sin entered into the world, the promise was given by God himself, that the seed of the woman should repair the dishonour thrown upon him by our first parents; and this it has, does, and must, and will continue to do, till the consummation of time, in spite of all malicious human opposition. Heaven and earth may pass away, but the word of God will never pass away, nor return empty to him again.—I enter not upon miracles, nor mysteries: all nature is a miracle, and an incomprehensible mystery. God is infinite; his knowledge is infinite: we are finite; our knowledge is finite; therefore, mysteries and miracles must surround us, even in heaven, otherwise our knowledge would be infinite; consequently equal to God's, which is impossible. With respect, likewise, to all *whys* and *wherefores*, you, yourself, Sir, have silenced these poor foolish impertinent sort of inquirers so effectually, that the whole tribe of these, your Unitarian correspondents, must be convinced of the weakness of the whole of their arguments against Christ their God and Liberator. At all events, let them not dive too deep into majesty, lest they be overpowered with its glory.—I likewise forbear making here any allusion to Mr. Smith's late bill in parliament; still I cannot but express my surprise at the apathetic conduct of the right and most reverend gentlemen of that assembly, who so tacitly gave in to such a palpable illusion, when they mistook *pusillanimity* for *charity*; and *fortitude* for *persecution*. They should, at least, have contended with that dignity and meekness peculiar to their character, for the treasure in the field; for the pearl of great price; in a word, for that faith, *once for all*, delivered to the just. For that faith, Sir, which you, in all your writings, have hitherto so greatly respected, and so holdly and sensibly stood up for: the faith of Christ.—Thus, Sir, if in your superior judgment, you think these few lines worthy of insertion in your publication, of which I am a constant reader, well; if, on the contrary, you find them too confused or too prolix for this purpose; and commit them to the

fire, I shall remain, still with the same sincere esteem, Sir, your very humble servant,

A. B.

To W. Cobben, Esq.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRENCH PAPERS.

(Continued from page 640.)

the Allies found so many hopes upon the chances of battle, nothing prevents them now, as then, from negotiating, whilst fighting.—The undersigned proposes to neutralize a point upon the frontier, as a place for conferences. To assemble the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, of France, of Russia, of Prussia, of Saxony, of convoking all those of the Belligerent Powers, and in commencing in that august assembly the work of peace, so anxiously desired throughout all Europe. Nations will experience a real consolation in seeing the Sovereigns employed in placing a term to the calamities of war, and to sincere and enlightened men confided the conciliating the interests, compensating the sacrifices, and rendering the peace advantageous and honourable to all nations.—The undersigned does not propose to reply to the Austrian Declaration, and the single grief upon which it is founded; his reply would be complete in a single word; he would mention the date of the alliance concluded between the two Powers on the 14th March, 1812, and the guarantee stipulated by the treaty, of the territory of the Empire, such as it was on the 14th March, 1812.

The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) The DUKE OF BASSANO.

Dresden, Aug. 18, 1813.

No. I.—*Extract of a Dispatch from Count Otto to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

Vienna, Dec. 16, 1812.

Monseigneur,—I yesterday received, by an extraordinary Courier, the dispatches with which your Excellency honoured me on the 3d, 4th, and 5th December; and I hastened to communicate to the Austrian Government the important intelligence which those dispatches contained. They were received with the most lively interest.—Your Excellency will have seen by my last dispatch, how much they endeavoured here to exaggerate the losses which we have suffered. The embarrassment of Count de Metternich was so visible, that I can only attribute it to the interest which he takes in our success. He had the appearance of

feeling for the alliance, and forgot himself several times so far as to tell me, that if Austria adopted another part, she would in a short time see 50,000,000 of men on her side. According to him, all Germany, all Italy, would declare for her. So strange an insinuation could only have been in consequence of propositions addressed to him from abroad, and the impression which the debates at the Council, at which he assisted, had left on him. They think to do us a particular favour by refusing to take arms against us, at a moment when they suppose us less strong than the Russians. I can only oppose to such opinions a calm attitude, and confidence in the superiority of France, so justly acquired, and which passing reverses cannot take from her. The greatest efforts are made to gain Austria; They offer her Italy, the Illyrian provinces, the supremacy of Germany, in short, the re-establishment of the ancient splendour of the Imperial Crown.

No. II.—*Extract of a Dispatch from the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Dec. 23, 1812.

Monseigneur,—However afflictive the picture of what is passing here may be, it is my duty to submit it to you without any disguise.—It is, perhaps, without example, that the members of the Government of great Powers should have conceived the idea of abandoning an ally, after a first reverse, to join the colours of its enemy. It is, however, in this manner, that the greater number of men of influence in this country have dared to talk, immediately after the intelligence of the retreat of our army. They hastened to circumvent the Cabinet by all the means which intrigue and corruption are able to direct against good faith. They have represented to it, that France having no longer an army, it would be absurd to wish to singly support the war against the Russian Colossus; that the Court of Berlin was not in a condition to continue its armaments; that Bavaria, the Duchy of Warsaw and Saxony were drained of men and money; that the North of Germany was ready to hoist the standard of revolt; that consequently it was necessary to recall the auxiliary corps, to change the system, and take advantage of a moment so favourable to retake the lost provinces; that more than 50,000,000 men were ready to declare for Austria, and make a common cause with her; that France herself was on the eve of a great revolution, and that the moment had arrived for restoring to nations

their ancient laws and their independence.

—In raving against France, the faction has not forgotten to attack in every manner the first partisan of French alliance, Count Metternich. Not a day passes without some new means being invented to discredit him, and it openly announces that he will be replaced by M. de Stadion.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. III.—*Extract of a Dispatch from the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 3.

Monseigneur,—The Ministry has again repeated to me that measures have been taken to render moveable the troops from Galacia and Transylvani, and that Count Bubna would be the bearer to France of the details of this armament. They still think that this general officer will be agreeable to his Majesty, and that he will fill diplomatic functions at Paris, although he was at first sent but as the bearer of a letter.—Your Excellency will have seen, by all my preceding reports, that the present war is unpopular in Austria; but Government has had sufficient firmness to maintain the system of alliance, and it may be said, that the late reverses have but served to confirm its dispositions.—The re-establishment of peace is actually the wish dearest to Austria. 'Tell us frankly, has the Minister frequently repeated to me what you intend to do, and place us in the situation of acting towards you as a good Ally, and towards the others as an independent Power. Believe that we are penetrated with a value of the alliance, and that we are capable of rendering you essential services.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. IV.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 8, 1813.

Monseigneur,—Having yesterday evening received the dispatch which your Excellency addressed to me on the 31st December, I hastened to see the Minister early in the morning, to discourse upon the very important questions it contained. He, at first, told me that Russia was too much engaged with England to treat singly. 'Believe what I tell you,' added he, 'we have a thousand ways of knowing what passes. Cajoled by all your enemies, we learn from the one what the other has hidden, and we are even in a condition to compare so many different reports, that truth cannot escape us. Besides, we will have no direct communications with England, unless authorized with you, and we will place them in

the forms proper for you; nevertheless preserving the attitude of a power that acts spontaneously. What have you to risk? We will compromise the English Ministry to the nation, and take upon us all the blame of unsuccessfulness.—Notwithstanding your late reverse, you are still in the most brilliant position. It is not the Emperor Napoleon who most needs peace. If he does not choose to act offensively, it depends upon himself to remain for a year, for two years, upon the Vistula. Never will the Russians be able to force that barrier. You will easily perceive the attitude you had previous to the war; but it is Germany, Prussia, Poland, and particularly Austria, which suffers in this state of things. It is, therefore, natural that we raise our voice, and loudly demand peace. As soon as the Emperor shall have made known his intentions to us, we will make them known, for he alone is instructed, he alone in a condition to dictate peace. Let him have in us a perfect confidence; let him confidently speak to us, we will similarly answer him.' M. de Metternich spoke for half an hour, with an effusion of heart, descriptive of the intentions of Austria, and of his entire devotion to our cause.

(Signed) OTTO.

No. V.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 11, 1813.

Count Metternich begged of me to call upon him this morning. He had just received a courier from Berlin, which brought him the details of the defection of the Prussian army, with letters written by both parties, either to justify or blame that strange event. "It is a proof," said the Minister to me, "of what I have often told you of the *Grâce fides* of the Russians, and of the embarrassing position in which the greater part of the Sovereigns of Europe are in respect to their troops and their people." I have remarked that the Austrian Minister at Berlin has transmitted all the official documents, the letters of the King of Naples, of the King of Prussia, of Marshal Macdonald, Count St. Maisin, in short, of an infinite number of details, which could only have been communicated to him by M. de Hardenberg. I must conclude from them that Prussia places a full confidence in the Cabinet of Vienna, and that she regularly consults it upon the line of conduct she ought to follow. In fine, M. de Metternich has often told me, that Prussia communicates to him all her griefs, and that he takes care to comfort and engage it not to deviate

from its system. He appeared to fear that the defection of the Prussian army would be the signal of a revolution, lest the Russians, with their usual craftiness, should take advantage of the first impression it might make in Germany and Poland.—He was going to proceed, when a courier of Count Bubna delivered him dispatches from Paris, dated the 2d. The Minister read the whole of them to me. He found in them a pledge of the long duration of the alliance, and the success of the negotiations. He will immediately take the Emperor's orders upon the choice of the individual intended to be sent to Wilna, and he will not lose a moment in sounding the Emperor Alexander's disposition. 'We appreciate,' said he to me, 'your immense resources, we know all that you have done and all that you can do. Besides the seven millions which England gives Russia, she has offered us ten millions to change our system. We refused this offer with contempt, although our finances were in the most ruinous condition. Our customs are at present our principal revenue; we are sure to lose that lucrative branch of our finances if you abandon your system for excluding colonial products.' The difficulty which seemed the most to embarrass Count de Metternich was the demand which Russia will undoubtedly make of an aggrandizement of territory. From the time of Peter the Great she has never made peace without insisting upon this point, and he is disposed to think she will demand the Vistula for a barrier.—I am going to dispatch your courier, to make you acquainted as soon as possible with the benefits which Count de Bubna's dispatches have produced.

No. VI.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 21.

Monseigneur,—I have just returned from the Minister, who I have left extremely well satisfied with the intelligence from Paris. The following are his plans relative to his Agent in England:—He wanted a skilful discreet man, speaking the language, and understanding to the bottom, the commercial system of Europe. He has fixed upon M. de Wessemberg, Minister Plenipotentiary at Munich, the same who he would have sent to Paris, had he been of sufficient rank. This Minister is expected here; after a very short abode, he will set out for Copenhagen; he will probably proceed on to Gottenburgh, to seek the means of embarking; arrived in England, he will deliver a letter to Lord Cas-

tlereagh from Count Metternich, informing the English Minister, that Austria, touched with the calamities which are passing in Europe, has conceived the idea of exerting herself in the re-establishment of peace; that she has sounded the dispositions of France upon this important point; that she has found them favourable to her views; and that, in consequence, she adopts the same measures with that of Great Britain; that being of all the Powers in Europe that which could be the least interested in the eventual conditions of a general peace, and which would suffer the least from the present state of things—she thought herself entitled to inspire sufficient confidence to make her intervention agreeable; that M. de Wessemberg was charged to collect the intentions of the British Government on this subject, and that his mission would be secret as long as the Ministry thought proper to hide it from the public.—If M. de Wessemberg is asked what France wishes, he will answer, that he knows nothing more of her dispositions, than that she is willing to treat, and that she has transmitted to Lord Castlereagh conditions which were published at the time; that his mission is purely Austrian, and has no other end than that of facilitating accommodations, and putting an end to the agitations of Europe; but if the efforts of Austria do not produce that effect, she will see herself obliged, according to the same sentiments, to labour without England, in a general pacification of the Continent—a measure which will leave at the disposition of France a force of more than 500,000 men, which she would solely employ for the re-establishment of a maritime peace, and her operations in Spain; that Austria is the only Power on the Continent completely a stranger to the commerce of the sea; that she puts a great price on the tranquillity of the Continent, and that maritime affairs may be determined without her intervention, if England neglects the present moment. If M. de Wessemberg is asked what Austria means by a *general pacification of the Continent*, he will answer, not an ordinary peace, but an unanimous Convention of the Powers of Europe, *to solidly maintain peace, and in no manner to meddle in the discussions which shall subsist between France and England.* M. de Wessemberg is to be careful of threatening the English Ministry, but will very vaguely give it to understand that this general pacification would be followed by the total exclusion of English commerce.—All that

is demanded of us is, to make the greatest preparations for a new campaign.—Austria applauds the basis proposed by his Majesty for the peace with Russia, and that with England; she finds them very generous, but she very earnestly begs of us not to speak of them, but let her do it. She takes upon herself all the responsibility, and will keep to the terms of your last dispatch; *that the Emperor consents to the negotiation, but that his Majesty will not appear in it.* M. de Metternich thinks the English must be allowed to come to engage, if it is possible, in the discussion, and reckon a little upon events.—The Minister is delighted with having his hands free. I never saw him happier than to-day, and I partake of the hopes he at this moment nourishes. (Signed) OTTO.

No. VII.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Vienna, Jan. 26.

M. de Staekelberg has had a secret interview with Count de Metternich. The Russian Plenipotentiary began by a long enumeration of the advantages gained by his Government, who, after having repulsed the French, proposed, he said, to come to the assistance of other Powers, and particularly to Austria, to aid this last Power to reconquer her lost provinces. After having heard him very tranquilly, M. de Metternich said to him, "Hold, my dear Staekelberg, you resemble a man, who sees day for the first time, after having been sick for six months in an obscure chamber. This great day dazzles you. Believe me, we see more clearly, and do not return to projects which cannot be ours. The system of the Emperor is immovable, and far from seeking aggrandizements, which, by a single campaign, would be too dearly purchased, he wishes but for peace, and he proposes to you to concur with him in it. We have, on this head, already sounded the dispositions of France, and have found them favourable to our views. We do not complain of our losses, and we do not think that a Foreign Cabinet has a right to resent them more than ourselves. I asked this interview from you, to know the intentions of your Court in regard to peace, which is the end of our efforts."—M. de Staekelberg shortly returning from his exaltation, true or feigned, announced that his Court was disposed to enter upon negotiations for peace; that it considered the Russian question as finished, and that it only thought of settling the general affairs of Europe. He was interrupted by M. de Metternich, who

told him that his project had nothing to do with discussing the conditions of peace, but simply to know if Russia would consent to negotiate. The Russian Plenipotentiary again affirmed that such was its intention, and that he was even charged to say, that his Sovereign would with pleasure receive a confidential person from his Court; that he, however, must add, that Russia would do nothing without the consent of her ally the King of Great Britain.—In a second interview, this Plenipotentiary was much more calm. Perhaps, he had double instructions, the one to forward the war, the other to insinuate a desire of negotiating. M. de Metternich will to-morrow dispatch M. de Lebzellern for Wilna. He has given him no other instruction but to talk of peace, and listen to it: he has not said a word to him of the conditions proposed by France; he wishes to let the Russians come. M. de Lebzellern will confine himself to making known, that in the event of a new campaign, the Russians might lose their actual advantages, and obtain a less honourable peace. If they talk to him of engagements taken with England, he will say that Austria has foreseen that embarrassment, and that she has already sent an agent to London. When the point is to discuss the basis, a more distinguished personage shall be accredited to Wilna, and, according to circumstances, this same negociator shall be sent even to England.—This first proceeding of Russia is a great step, said the Minister to me, "rely upon us, we will nothing slacken, absolutely nothing; for we are at least as much interested as you. Every thing depends upon our attitude. The Emperor has ordered 100,000 men to be movable, including the auxiliary corps. In adding 30,000 men to that corps, we shall go beyond the obligations of treaty, and authorize Russia to refuse our mediation. Hitherto the war has not been *Austrian*. If it in the end becomes so, it is not with 30,000 men, but with all the forces of the monarchy that we will attack the Russians. In the mean time they will not see without uneasiness the increase of our troops in Galacia, and will be careful of provoking us."—The Emperor yesterday signed the order which was submitted to him for rendering movable an army of 70,000 men in Galacia and in the Buckowine. (Signed) OTTO.

No. VIII.—*From the Same to the Same.*

Dated Vienna, Feb. 15, 1813.

Monseigneur,—The Grand Gala of the

1st January having been deferred to the Emperor's Birth Day, there was yesterday a very brilliant assemblage at Court, and a public dinner.—After the audience Count de Metternich spoke to me with an effusion of heart of the good effects produced by the last reports from Count de Bubna. He said to me among other things, "Your alliance with Russia was monstrous; it had only one very precarious point *d'appui*, that of the exclusion of English commerce. It was a war alliance, dictated by the conqueror; it should be dissolved. Ours, on the contrary, is founded upon connexions and interests the most natural, the most permanent, the most eventually necessary; it must be as eternal as the wants which have caused it. It is we who sought it, and we deeply reflected before concluding it. If we had again to make it, we should not wish it different to what it is; we would have it quite entire; it placed us in peace, and will eventually serve to consolidate it."—Prince Schwartzburgh arrived yesterday. "It is intended to send him off immediately to Paris, for the double purpose of informing his Majesty of the actual position of things, and of giving Europe a striking proof of the disposition of Austria, by making appear at the Court of France the Commander of the Auxiliary Corps, going to his Chief to receive his orders." Those are the Minister's own words. He puts the utmost value on seizing upon every occurrence calculated to convince the Courts of London and St. Petersburg of the intimate connexion which subsists between France and Austria.

No. IX.—*From the Same to the Same, dated Vienna, Feb. 17.*

M. de Metternich yesterday sent me the writing of which I had the honour of speaking to you in No. 443. This document, drawn up with much care by the Minister himself, will serve as an introduction to the orders of the Cabinet which are about to appear, relative to the recruiting of the army. I have the honour of accompanying this with a translation of it.

"This kind of declaration," said the Minister to me, "is not a public manifesto—it is a document purely administrative; but it may produce a good effect both in Russia and in England. Demanding from the nation new sacrifices, conveys an assurance of two essential points—the one, that our system of alliance is immovable; and the other, that we arm only to obtain a general pacification. I would have deferred

the publication of this document, if I had not reason for supposing your Master will speak to a similar purport, in his Speech upon opening the Legislative Body. In that case our proceedings would have the appearance of being dictated by you, whilst that to render it efficacious for us, it must have all the character of being spontaneous. These words, *after having definitively fixed its political relations*, says every thing without weakening the means of mediation which his Majesty proposes to employ. You know that it is only in *Russia we have made efforts* to prevent the war; you have no occasion for it among you. Russia will comprehend us, but she will find nothing offensive in this expression. She will also comprehend what the phrase means which concludes this document, when we shew the desire of removing the *theatre of war far from our frontiers*."

Here began a conversation which the Minister prolonged for more than two hours, and which I believed was occasioned by the last dispatches from Count de Bubna, which the Minister had read to me the preceding evening. It would be useless to follow this discourse through all its details; I here confine myself to offer the point of view under which Count de Metternich considers the actual situation of things.

—The Minister began by repeating to me, "that he only endeavoured to more and more establish a confidence and complete understanding between the two Cabinets." Afterwards entering upon the subject, he told me "that the idea of an *armed mediation* might have caused a momentary surprise at Paris; but that the word *mediation*, the value of which was perfectly understood in the Cabinet of Vienna, had never been pronounced here; that Count de Bubna and M. de Florot had even been forbidden to use that word; that we had just made use of it; that on the contrary it mentioned it, but as an interposition, as the interposition of an Ally who, fatigued with the embarrassments of war, wished to accelerate its conclusion; that the idea of an armed mediation would be entirely void of sense in respect to England, Austria having no means of attacking that Power. Our alliance with France," added he, "is so necessary to France, that if you break it to-day, we will propose to you to-morrow to re-establish it, absolutely upon the same conditions. France has done us much injury, but it is our interest to forget the past. We wish at this moment to be useful to her, because at some future time she will

be able to render us a similar service. This alliance has not been the result of a war or a condition of peace, like that of Tilsit: it is the effect of deep reflection, and it has been prepared by approaches successive and spontaneous. Lay down as a fact, and consider as an incontestible fact, that we will only seek your good; that we no longer dread France, but the Russians, whose power you yourselves by successive concession have augmented."—The Minister here entered into long arguments, to shew that Austria had need of France to recover herself; that at this moment she only followed the impulse of her own interest, which since, by the treaty concluded by Prince Kaunitz, that she demanded nothing, absolutely nothing, but peace; but that in negotiating she was in no ways disposed to favour Russia, her natural enemy; that the equilibrium of Europe, the inutility of which several writers have for some time endeavoured to demonstrate, is not a chimera; that it is essentially founded upon the affinity of interests between the different nations, and will always be the basis of their policy; that on the one side France, Austria, and the Ottoman Porte, on the other Russia and England, will fill the basins of that balance; that notwithstanding this apparent equilibrium, France will always preserve a preponderance, which belongs to her position and inexhaustible riches: that this preponderance is a fact of which no person can entertain a doubt, even under the late Kings; but that it became a motive for jealousy, when, after the most astonishing successes, France appeared to wish to establish it as a right; but during that victorious march of our armies, Russia had succeeded with giant steps towards dominion, and that she was arriving at her end, by the most insinuating forms; that having acquired much more territory than us, she has so well disguised her ambition, that nations, far from hating her, appeared to have willingly acceded to her encroachments; but that France pacified, would put an end to that slight importance of the Russians; and that she would resume all the ascendancy of her power, her pecuniary means, and her moderation would guarantee to her for ever; in short, that peace alone will be to France and Austria, her ally, a more solid conquest than could all those derived from a fortunate campaign. —Such are, Monseigneur, uniformly the principles and the views of this Cabinet. —The Prince of Schwartzenburg will himself be the interpreter of them to his Majesty. (Signed) OTTO.

AMERICAN WAR.

LONDON GAZETTE, Oct. 12, 1813.

Downing-street, Oct. 11, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are a Copy and Extract, have been this day received by Earl Bathurst, from Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Bart.

Head-quarters, Kingston, Upper Canada, July 20, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship the copy of a report from Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, of the Militia Forces, of the result of an attack made by a detachment of troops from the centre division of the army serving in Upper Canada, placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, one of the Inspecting Field Officers of Militia, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's block-houses, stores, barracks, vessels, and naval establishment at Black Rock, which I have this day received from Major-General de Rottenbourg.—The skill and judgment of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, aided by the valour of the officers and men placed under his command, enabled him to accomplish this enterprise in the most gallant manner, when unfortunately for his Majesty's service, a concealed enemy, at the moment of the re-embarkation of the troops in their encumbered boats, threw in upon them a destructive fire, which deprived the country of some valuable men, and disabled Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp so as to leave me no hope of again benefitting by his services during the remainder of this arduous campaign.—I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) GEORGE PREVOST.

Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Chippawa, July 12, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you, for the information of Major-General De Rottenbourg, that the detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, consisting of a detachment of royal artillery, under Lieutenant Armstrong, forty of the King's regiments, under Lieutenant Barstow, one hundred of the 41st, under Captain Saunders, forty of the 49th, under Lieutenant Fitz Gibbons, and about forty of the 2d and 3d Lincoln militia, embarked at two o'clock in the morning of the 11th instant, to attack the enemy's batteries at Black Rock.—The detachment landed half an hour before day-light, without being perceived, and immediately proceeded to attack the batteries, which they carried with little opposition; the enemy heard the firing at their advanced posts, and im-

mediately retreated with great precipitation to Buffalo.—The block-houses, barracks, and navy yard, with one large schooner, were burnt, and such of the public stores as could be got off were taken possession of and carried across the river by the troops: before the whole of the stores were taken away, the enemy advanced, having been reinforced by a considerable body of Indians, whom they posted in the woods on their flanks and in their advance; they were gallantly opposed by the whole of the troops, but finding the Indians could not be driven from the adjoining woods without our sustaining a very great loss, it was deemed prudent to retreat to the boats, and the troops recrossed the river under a very heavy fire.—I am extremely sorry to add, Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp fell, severely wounded, on our retreat to the boats: fortunately the detachment did not suffer by it, every thing having been arranged and completed previous to his receiving his wounds.—Enclosed are the returns of the killed, wounded, and missing, with the exception of those of the 49th regiment and militia, which have not yet been received.—I have also enclosed the returns of the ordnance and other stores captured.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS CLARK, Lieut.-Col.
2d Lincoln Militia.

To Lieut.-Col. Harvey, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing in the action with the Enemy at Black Rock, on the morning of the 11th instant. July 13, 1813.

Staff. 1 inspecting field-officer wounded.—3th, or King's regiment. 3 privates killed; 1 corporal, 6 privates, wounded.—41st regiment. 6 privates killed; 1 captain, 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 10 privates, wounded; 4 privates missing.—49th regiment. 4 privates killed; 3 privates wounded; 2 privates missing.—Militia. 1 lieutenant-colonel wounded.—Total. 13 privates killed; 1 inspecting field-officer, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 captain, 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 1 corporal, 19 privates wounded; 6 privates missing.

Names of Officers wounded.

Staff. Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, inspecting field-officer, severely (not dangerously).—2d Lincoln Militia. Lieut.-Colonel Clark, slightly.—41st regiment. Captain Saunders, severely, and prisoner; Ensign Mompesson, slightly.

(Signed) J. HARVEY, Lt.-Col. D. A. Gen.

(True copy.)

(Signed) EDW. BAYNES, Adj.-Gen.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lieut.-General Sir George Prevost, dated head-quarters, Kingston, Upper Canada, Aug. 1, 1813.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the enemy continue to occupy the

position of Fort George and its immediate vicinity, within which they are still more closely circumscribed than when I had the honour of addressing you on the 18th ultimo; the head-quarters of Major-General De Rottenburg having since been removed to St. David's, about seven miles distant from that fort, and our advance posts being within four miles of it.—The enemy's fleet, consisting of two ships, one brig, and eleven schooners, in all fourteen, sailed from Sackett Harbour on the 23d ultimo, and were seen off Niagara on the 27th, and off York on the 28th; and yesterday our squadron, powerfully armed, well equipped, completely manned, and ably commanded, left Kingston Harbour in search of it.—I have thought it expedient, to endeavour to call off the enemy's attention from this province, to the defence of their own settlements on Lake Champlain, by employing Captain Everard, and the officers and seamen of His Majesty's sloop of war Wasp, lately arrived from Halifax, to man our gun-boats, and the captured American vessels at Isle aux Noix, for the purpose of joining with a body of eight hundred picked men, in making a movement on that Lake, to arrest the progress of the reinforcements moving towards the American armies at Sackett Harbour, under Major-General Lewis, and at Niagara, under Major-General Dearborn. I have selected an officer of merit and enterprise for this service, and he has received my instructions to destroy the vessels and boats of every description along the shore, and such public buildings as are used for military purposes. He is also to bring away or destroy provisions and warlike stores of every kind which may fall into his possession; but all private property, and the persons of the unarmed and inoffensive inhabitants, are to be respected, and every care and precaution are to be taken to preserve both inviolate.

BULLETINS OF THE CROWN PRINCE.

Berlin, Sept. 22.—We have just received, from the head-quarters of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden, the Eleventh Bulletin.

Head-quarters at Zerbst, Sept. 20, 1813.

General Von Puttlitz, who is charged with the observation of Magdeburg, is posted at Mockern; he has sent several detachments of cavalry to the left bank of the Elbe.—Two companies of the regiment Joseph Napoleon, 164 men strong, with

their Chief of Battalion, and two other officers, came over to our advanced posts at Bichderitz, in the night between the 16th and 17th September. They were permitted to retain their arms, and were taken to the head-quarters of his Royal Highness, from whence they will be sent to Spain by the way of Stralsund.—A part of the landstrum of Priegnitz, under the command of Major Von Puttlitz, has crossed the Elbe, and taken possession of the environs of Seehausen and Osterburg. He protects the inhabitants of the Old March of Brandenburg, against the requisitions made by straggling parties, and by the Government of Westphalia.—Lieutenant-General Count Walmoden having received information that the Prince of Eckmühl had detached the division of General Pecheux to the left bank of the Elbe, passed that river at Dornitz, and in his march on the 16th, fell in with the enemy. General Pecheux had posted himself advantageously on the heights behind Goerde. The cannonade commenced; the attack made by the tirailleurs of Lutzow and Reiche, and the well combined movements of the columns of infantry, forced the enemy to quit the heights, and form *en masse* on the plain, at the very moment when our columns had got as far as the heights, the cavalry and the Cossacks appeared on the enemy's left flank.—Notwithstanding this he made an obstinate defence, supported a very brisk combat with the infantry, and repulsed several attacks of the cavalry. He was, however, soon brought to give way by the artillery, a part of which followed close after the infantry. The enemy being repeatedly attacked by the infantry, and on several sides, wished to hasten his retreat, and from this moment, as both the cavalry and infantry fell on him, his disorder was complete. The enemy's corps would have been totally destroyed, had not night coming on, and the broken ground, saved a great part of them.—The field of battle was covered with the enemy's killed and wounded. We have taken 8 cannon, 12 ammunition waggons, and a great quantity of baggage. The General of Brigade, Mielzinske, two of General Pecheux's Adjutants, and upwards of 1,000 men, are made prisoners. Even on the following day prisoners were brought in from all sides, so that the whole may amount to

about 1,800 men. General Pecheux had lost his horse, and escaped on foot, being favoured by the night, and the nature of the ground. The remains of his division are retreating in disorder on Blockede, pursued by the Cossacks, under the command of General Tettenborn.—Our loss consists of 30 officers and 400 privates, killed and wounded. The Majors Von Lutzow, Firks, and Schasser, are wounded; Major Devaux is killed. All the troops under Lieutenant-General Count Von Walmoden have vied with each other in zeal and bravery on this day.—The 3d regiment of the English Hussars, the 1st of the Legion, and several other battalions of the English and Russian Legions, have highly distinguished themselves. The tirailleurs of Lutzow and Reiche took the first gun. The English artillery and rockets deserve the highest encomiums.—During the attack the enemy advanced with some thousand men on Boitzenburg, but without any effect. General Walmoden removed his head-quarters on the 17th to Danneberg, to be the nearer for observing that part of the Marshal Prince of Eckmühl's corps d'armee which had remained on the right bank of the Elbe. The grand united army of Bohemia must have gained fresh advantages, the official statements of which are expected. We know by private intelligence from Leipsic, that on the evening of the 16th, 8,000 cavalry, 2,000 of which were dismounted, and several dismounted pieces of artillery, had arrived there. The field hospital had been brought from Dresden to Leipsick, and a part of it even as far as Meresburg.—The want of forage at Dresden is so great, that for some time past 200 horses have daily died there.—General Thielman has made a General, 37 officers, and 1,200 men prisoners at Weissenfels. On the 14th, the Cossacks took at Wuntzen a convoy of waggons, laden with corn, which was destined for the garrison of Torgau, and was escorted by a Saxon battalion. Colonel Von Menzdorf has intercepted Couriers, whose dispatches expose the bad condition and demoralization of the French army.—General Blücher has his head-quarters at Bautzen; by his right wing he combines his operations with those of the united army of the North of Germany, and by his left wing he is
(To be continued.)

Published by R. BAGSHAW, Brydges-Street, Covent-Garden.

LONDON: Printed by J. M'Creery, Black-Horse-Court, Fleet-street.